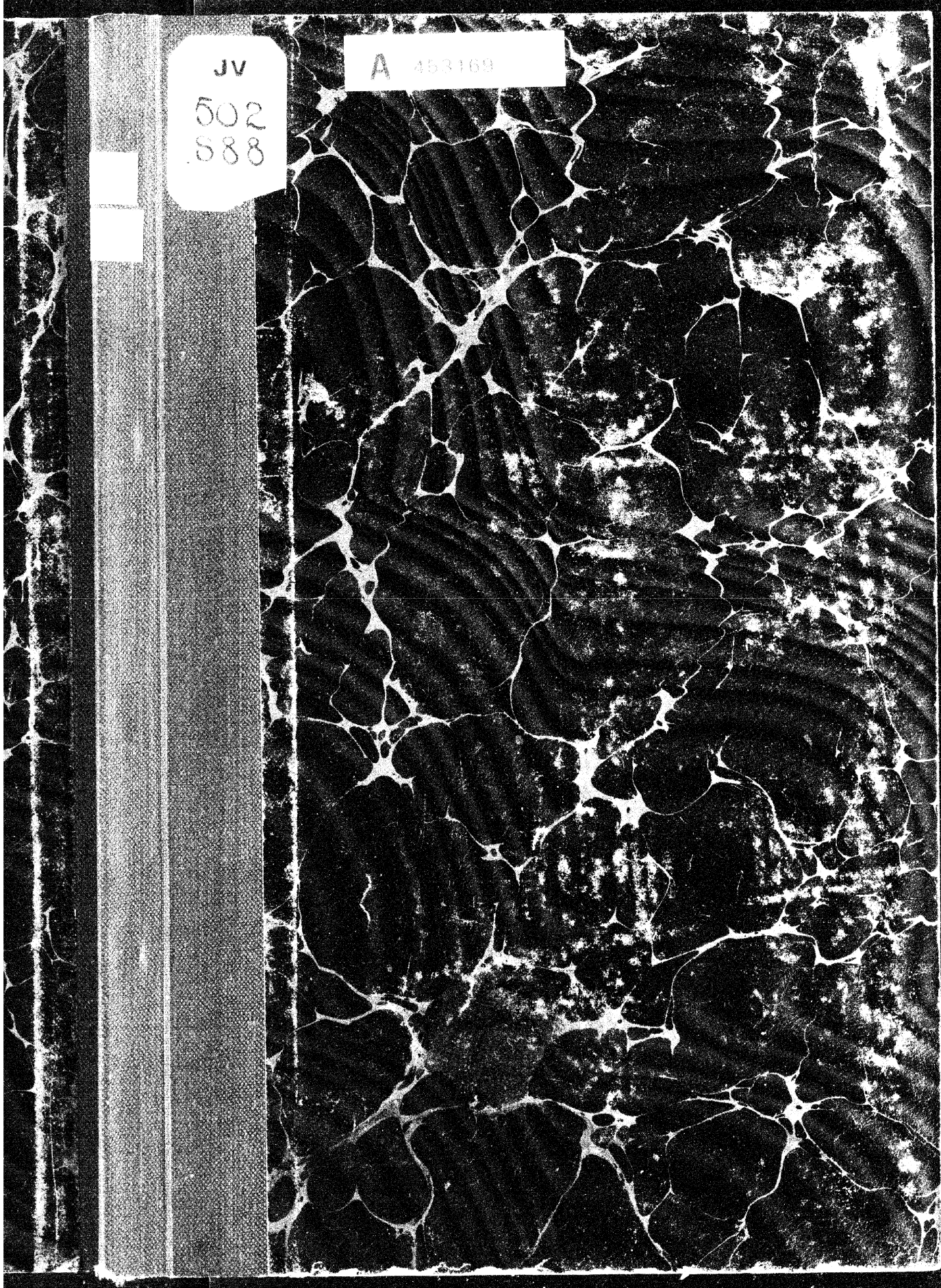


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Revised edition

A Year's Progress

Annual Address

BY

MOORFIELD STOREY

President of the Anti-Imperialist League

AT THE

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

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A YEAR'S PROGRESS

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Anti-Imperialist League:

Again we meet to pledge our unwavering support to the cause of human freedom; to insist that Lincoln was right when he said, "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent. I say that this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American Republicanism"; and to declare that any policy inconsistent with this principle is absolutely and always wrong; to consider how our cause has fared during the year that has passed, and what are its prospects in the future—these are the questions which we naturally ask at each annual meeting, and to these I will address myself today.

Before we pass to consider the political situation, it is proper that I should remind you of the gaps which the year has made in our ranks. General Palmer, Dean Currier of the University of Iowa, Dana Estes, Mrs. Pickering, David Ferris, Dr. Huntington, have been with us from the beginning, and have contributed most generously in time, thought and money to our cause, and in losing them we have lost friends whose places it will not be easy to fill. General Palmer and Mr. Estes have been most active in the contest, and with Mrs. Pickering have been most liberal contributors to our treasury. Their help will be sorely missed. Dr. Huntington has represented us bravely and well in a community where his example and his voice were very potent, and where we have needed his aid. Dean Currier's active work in the West and his cheerful confidence were of the greatest importance, and Mr. Ferris's abiding faith in the triumph of justice was a constant inspiration. It is no disparagement of the others to say that the death of William Lloyd Garrison takes from our side a friend upon whom we had all learned to lean in every emergency, and for whom we felt a peculiar affection. He was fortunate in his birth, for he inherited the keenest moral instinct, the most perfect courage, the

most implicit faith in the right. No man ever had a whiter soul, no one saw more clearly, no man devoted himself with more absolute unselfishness to patriotic service than he. We find it hard to realize that his voice is stilled forever, and we must always regret that, less happy than his father, he did not live to see the triumph of the cause which he had so much at heart, and for which he labored so long and so well.

In warfare, however, whether physical or moral, we pause to commemorate the dead, but must turn to the battle again. The year that has passed has been a year of great advance. We stand for the right of every people to rule itself, and to have no government imposed upon it without its consent. All over the world this principle is gaining ground. The Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia, the most conspicuous relics of imperialism, have been driven from their thrones, and both Turkey and Persia now have a constitution, as yet of course imperfect, but a long step towards freedom. China is fermenting and the trend of events is clear, though we are not fully informed as to processes. In Russia the legislature of Finland has asserted against the Tsar the right of the people to tax themselves, and the outcome of the struggle is not yet. In Germany the Reichstag has refused to vote the taxes which the Emperor desired, and he is afraid to dissolve it lest a new election should give him a more intractable legislature. England faces a crisis greater than she has known since 1832 because the House of Lords questions the absolute right of the Commons to determine how taxes shall be imposed, and every impartial observer feels that the struggle cannot end till the right of the Commons is secured, and the hereditary privileges of the nobility are largely curtailed if not entirely destroyed. In Spain and France the power of the people grows every day stronger, and privilege, religious or political, is losing ground.

Wherever we look, whether in Europe or Asia, the tide of freedom is rising. In 1901, Meredith Townsend could say in the introduction to "Asia and Europe," "it is evident to me that the white races under the pressure of an entirely new impulse are about to renew their periodic attempt to conquer or at least to dominate" Asia. That impulse died when the Russian fleet sank under the guns of Togo, and Port Arthur surrendered to Japan. The conquest of Asia is abandoned forever.

There is one country in the world whose progress we must

watch with peculiar interest, and that is India. Our opponents constantly cite the results of English rule over the Indian people as a proof that one people can govern another with advantage to the subject nation. President Roosevelt, with his strong but misguided taste for superlatives, spoke of it in substance as the most conspicuous instance in history of successful colonial administration. He and those who share his views are either ignorant themselves or presume on the ignorance of their hearers. Let me quote a few words from English witnesses who certainly were not prejudiced against their country.

In 1757, when Plassy made the East India Company masters of Bengal, Clive described it as a country of "inexhaustible riches" that could not fail to make the East India Company "the richest corporation in the world." About one hundred and fifty years later, in 1905, Sir Frederick Treves, the surgeon to the King, thus described what he saw:

"Possibly the first impression of India which succeeds the realization of the strangeness of all things, is an impression of teeming life—of the unwonted number of living beings, human and animal, who crowd the land. The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre comfort, and a little above the nearest reach of starvation. They crowd everywhere over the length and breadth of the Peninsular, for they number two hundred and ninety millions."
"These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifices to cholera, famine and plague. Plague will slay 20,000 in a week. Cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year, and the famine of one well-remembered time accounted for five and a quarter millions of dead people."

"A further impression which soon possesses the traveller in India is that of the melancholy which hangs over both the land and its people. . . . Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live!' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp vivacious they are not, energetic they are not, nor are they either hearty or brisk. They appear feeble and depressed."

To this pass had a country of "inexhaustible riches" been

reduced.

These people are melancholy because they are almost starving. When Sir Frederick wrote he said "no less than 17,000 men and women are dying of plague in India every week" and plague is a concomitant of famine which attacks those whose vitality is reduced. Lord George Hamilton, late Secretary for India, said that these famines are famines of money, not of food. The people starve not because their country fails to produce food, but because they are too poor to buy it.

Sir William Wedderburn, an Englishman familiar with India since 1859 in many capacities, said in 1905:

"Thus the administration year by year becomes more out of touch with the people, and the natural consequences follow, ruinous public expenditure with crushing taxation, the educated classes disheartened and alienated, and chronic and increasing destitution among the masses of the people. With a fertile soil, a fine climate, and labor cheap, skilful and abundant India might be and ought to be a garden of plenty. Instead of that the vast rural population are constantly on the verge of starvation. So destitute are they of any reserve, whether of food, money or credit, that the failure of one harvest causes countless deaths by famine with the consequent fevers, cholera and plague among the exhausted survivors. The great majority of the peasantry not only possess nothing, but much less than nothing, being hopelessly in debt to the village money lender. These facts are patent. But they are denied by the official authorities who persist in saying that the peasantry are lightly taxed, that they are increasing in prosperity, and that to use the phrase of Sir Henry Fowler, late Secretary of State for India, 'they are enjoying the unspeakable blessings of English rule.'"

I will close my English testimony with the words of John Bright: "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of the country."

Is it wonderful that the patient people of India have tired of their "unspeakable blessings" and have shown a deep sense of grinding oppression, which has driven the English government to admit more representatives of the Indian people to a

voice in the councils of the government though not to any real control over their destinies. This final step is delayed, for privilege dies hard, but the thin end of the wedge has been inserted, and its further progress cannot long be stayed.

I have cited this testimony as to India because it is said that the success of English rule in that country has justified our experiment. What a success! 290,000,000 of people who never smile, a large majority of whom are always on the verge of starvation, poor, sick and hopeless, while the rulers talk of the "unspeakable blessings" which they have conferred upon their subjects. This is always the attitude of the ruler, be he Mayor Fitzgerald, Speaker Cannon, the Tsar of Russia, or the colonial governor,—his administration is always successful, his power always wisely used for the good of the people. Their statements share the weakness of all self-praise. The governed are better judges, and their testimony is very different.

While the principles upon which the government of this country was founded are steadily making their way wherever absolute power exists abroad, it is strange to find them questioned and denied at home, in the land which first announced and applied them, in the country which has been proud of them for four generations. It is strange, indeed, that the United States, which has so long led men to freedom, should now abandon her leadership and lag behind. It is stranger yet that a Republican, who sits in Lincoln's seat, should repudiate the principles for which Lincoln stood, and which the Republican party was founded to maintain. President Taft asserts that it is right for us to hold the Philippine Islands, and govern the Filipinos as our subjects until such time as we choose to give them their independence, which time he hopes will never come, because he hopes that before it does they will become contented with our rule. In brief he believes that one man is "good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

It is interesting to observe how unerring was Lincoln's prophetic instinct. Let me recall his words: "The assertion that 'all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and it was placed in the Declaration not for that but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism." Mr. Taft finds this stumbling block in his path. At one time he says:

"To make the terms of the Declaration of Independence apply equally to the Filipinos as to the American colonists is to be blind to the plainest facts and to sacrifice truth to an impossible dogma and a rhetorical phrase." Last July, almost on the anniversary of our independence, he said that the Declaration is so construed by some as to make it mean "that any body of men or children or women are born with the instinct of self-government so that they can frame a government as soon as they begin to talk." Even Douglas, in his great debate with Lincoln, did not stumble as badly as this, or misrepresent so absurdly the position of his opponent. Professor Burke, who is one of the President's disciples and a strong advocate of American rule in the Philippines, also stumbled when he said, at Lake Mohonk a month or so ago, that the Declaration of Independence was a campaign document which effected its purpose in the liberation of the colonies and ceased thereafter to have any practical bearing upon the development of American history. Has this professor never heard of Lincoln, nor read his speeches? Lincoln says that the words on which we rely were of no use "in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and were placed in the Declaration 'for future use.'" Burke calls that immortal declaration "a campaign document," while Mr. Taft terms its statement of political principle "an impossible dogma and a rhetorical phrase." What a reflection on our people who for more than a century have revered this "campaign document," have had its "impossible dogmas" read with solemn reverence on each anniversary of its publication. What an insult to the intelligence of Lincoln, who, at Independence Hall, said: "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring with the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence" . . . "that sentiment" . . . "which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time." When we read the replies of Douglas to Lincoln we find him expressing the same views of the Declaration that Mr. Taft now adopts. The reason in both cases is bad. The stumbling block was the same. "Self-evident truths," like the ten commandments, "will not budge." They are awkward enemies, not to be overcome by misrepresentation or abuse. We can well afford to take our stand upon these truths with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln and those who thought with them, in perfect faith that as surely as these truths destroyed slavery, supported

though it was by every strong material interest in the country, so surely will they in the fulness of time prove fatal to any government of a people against its consent. They will emerge triumphant from their eclipse, and will be maintained and revered when those who now belittle or despise them have shared the fate of Douglas.

It is not surprising that, with his views, President Taft has not shown himself favorable to popular liberty. We could wish that he would spare the time from his warfare against the great combinations of capital, which threaten the industrial and political freedom of the people, to instruct the able lawyers whom he has called into the service of the United States to attack and undo the work of the great combination which has disfranchised the colored people of the South in avowed violation of the Fifteenth Amendment, and we may hope that their wrongs will yet be redressed. We realize, however, that he who denies to brown people the right to govern themselves in their own country may find it difficult to assert the right of black people to govern or help to govern us in the United States, and again we recognize the wisdom of Lincoln as we recall his words: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

In Porto Rico the power of the people has been curtailed, because in President Taft's judgment they did not use it wisely. The Porto Ricans are not what the Anglo Saxon likes to call an inferior race. The men from whom the power has been taken are Caucasians, Spaniards and the descendants of Spaniards, the race that once conquered and ruled a large part of the world, a race of great statesmen, soldiers and sailors. The words of an American newspaper states the case accurately.

"Mr. Taft thinks that the Porto Ricans are not worthy of self-government because the lower house of the Porto Rican legislature—the only body representing the Porto Rican people—has refused to vote appropriations as a protest against the course of the upper house, an appointive and unrepresentative body, in refusing to sanction legislation demanded by the people. It may be that the Porto Ricans are incapable of self-government, but their refusal to vote supplies for the representatives of the Washington crown does not necessarily establish their unfitness—indeed, it suggests that they may be eminently fit to exercise the power. For it is the power that the lower

house is expected to use in an emergency to force obedience to the people's will. That is the only value that attaches to the control of the purse. It is a power that has made the House of Commons the dominating factor in the British government . . . If our own House of Representatives had exercised the power that has been conferred upon it by the Constitution, if it had acted as the traditions of Anglo-Saxon government demanded that it should act, it would not now find itself reduced to the impotent, characterless and contemptible place that it occupies in our scheme of government."

Years ago, when the government of Porto Rico was established, President McKinley thus described it:

"Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate—elect their own legislature, enact their own laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country, and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island."

I took occasion at the time to point out how misleading this statement was in every essential particular, and that the Porto Ricans were left with no constitutional rights and at the mercy of Congress. The criticism is now justified. A power which is taken away, when it is exercised to secure the objects for which the power is created, is of little value.

Mr. Taft acts upon the assumption that the Porto Ricans cannot be trusted to govern themselves, that the unanimous House of Delegates was of necessity wrong if it differed from the representatives of the United States as to questions affecting the people, whom the Delegates represented and the American officials did not. It is interesting to quote in this connection the testimony of an American who has given much study to Porto Rican questions and who began as a warm advocate of our rule. In a letter published in the Transcript on July 3, Mr. George Marvin says:

"Today, after ten years of American rule, it (Porto Rico) is neither a contented nor a prosperous community."

"Since the beginning of American rule just as there has never been any attempt to restore sound economic conditions to the island, so also has there never been any sustained or general attempt on the part of American officials or residents

to understand and meet the Porto Rican people. . . . Few Americans in Porto Rico have taken the pains to master the Spanish language, and have therefore barred themselves from communication with the native people and from that degree of mutual understanding which the use of a common tongue may bring. In a majority of instances, it must be said, the manner and bearing of resident and visiting Americans have been at least indifferent, often overbearing or contemptuous. From the days when the soldiers kicked them literally out of the way on the side walks to the present time of executive kick, the Porto Rican people have always cherished a grievance and nursed a blighted hope, which are not due to racial differences merely."

He points out the economical mistakes that have been made and suggests remedies, but says that today "a feeling of hatred and hostility to constituted authority is growing," that "the feeling of the people who have fared less well under American than under Spanish rule is the ember of what might, under other conditions, glare up into open violence," and falls back upon the ultimate reason of the conditions in these words: "Back of all other reasons for the partial failure of this first experiment in dependent administration lies the popular indifference and ignorance in this country regarding the island and its interests."

In a word, having proved that we are unable to govern the island well for the reason that our people neither know nor care what its interests require, we conclude with entire complacency that the people cannot govern themselves. We are conferring "the inestimable blessings" of our rule, and they are such fools as not to know when they are well off. India and Porto Rico, Hindoo and Spaniard alike are blind to their interests, alike are incapable of understanding their own needs. Wrapped up in our own conceit, we think that without knowledge or interest in their fate we can govern a people better than they govern themselves. Does this seem like a truth when weighed against the truths of the Declaration?

Are we likely to grow more competent to govern, to become less ignorant or indifferent? Certainly not till we realize that we are not governing well. We shall not cure our troubles till we see that they exist, and indeed what hope is there that a people will govern others wisely who cannot govern themselves, who do not care enough for their own interests to make

a Tammany Hall in New York, a Quay and a Penrose in Pennsylvania, a Fitzgerald in Boston, or a Cox in Cincinnati impossible; who are content to be plundered by dishonest men in every city and state, who submit to the organized robbery of an Aldrich tariff, and who maintain for years in their own commercial metropolis a machine for collecting the tariff taxes which is not only honeycombed with dishonesty, but which has debauched the conscience of that great mercantile community.

The people of Alaska also find in Mr. Taft's utterances a note of discouragement, though their territory stands as did the rest of our territory on this continent, except that it is not contiguous. The American residents, however, may safely be trusted to assert their rights when their numbers justify a change in their form of government, and we note Mr. Taft's attitude only as an indication of his opinions, not because we need concern ourselves with the future of Alaska.

In the Philippines the situation has not changed. The voters of the island at the recent election have expressed again even more decidedly their desire for immediate independence, and the late Governor General has pointed out with regret "the growing gulf between the two peoples," saying that "an era of ill feeling has started between Americans and Filipinos, and, I hesitate to say it, 'race hatred.'" This is no new thing. Six years ago his predecessor, Mr. Taft, spoke of it on leaving the islands, pointed out the causes of it, and said: "Were I assured that the present attitude of the majority of American merchants and the American press would be permanent, and if I did not confidently hope that there must be a great change in the future, I should be very much discouraged in respect to the result of the experiment which the United States is making in these islands."

Our Secretary, Mr. Winslow, in his admirable article in the North American Review, published earlier in the year, has stated the argument on this point very clearly, and I will not repeat it. Mr. Taft is not discouraged now by what disturbed him then, though conditions are going from bad to worse; but why should he expect improvement? No student of human nature should be blind to the "self-evident truth" that, since the only ground on which we justify holding the islands is the fact that we are a superior and they an inferior people, the Americans will assert that superiority and make it felt in a thousand ways that are inexpressibly galling. They will bear themselves

in the Philippines as they have in Porto Rico, and with the same results. A people which has robbed and nearly exterminated the Indians, which is disfranchising, lynching, and abusing its colored fellow-citizens at home, is from its very experience with colored races incapable of treating colored men as equals. Mr. Taft's hope is Utopian. The gulf between the races has never been bridged in India, and never will be in the Philippines.

For the fifth time in ten years the Filipinos have a new Governor, Cameron Forbes. I have known him from his infancy, and I am glad to bear my cordial testimony in his favor. He is able, conscientious, unselfish, thoroughly convinced that our government of the Filipinos is justified, determined to make it a blessing to them, and willing to spend himself in every way to accomplish this purpose. He is an untiring worker and an admirable man. If the policy of our government is right, no better man to administer it could be found in our country. He is as sincere in his belief as we are in ours, and if we oppose and criticize him, it is not on personal grounds but because he represents a policy which we believe to be wrong; because he is engaged in a hopeless undertaking.

From the report of his inaugural address, telegraphed from Manila on November 24, it appears that "improvement in the material conditions of the islands and the people was the keynote" of his speech. "He dedicated his administration to the advancement of the people and country, and declared that the country's greatest need was capital." He is quoted as speaking thus:

"Capital demands a stable government. Capital is not particularly interested in the color or design of the flag; it wants just and equitable laws, sound and uniform policy on the part of the Government, just and fair treatment in the courts. The faith of the United States is pledged that all of these benefits shall be permanently assured to the Filipinos. No capitalist need feel alarmed as to the security of his investment, provided it has been made in such a way as to fulfill the conditions imposed by law. The United States stands pledged to the establishment and maintenance of a stable government in the Philippine Islands; not for the sake of capital which may be invested there, but for the sake of the welfare of the Philippine people and the faith of the United States before the world. The security of foreign capital is merely an incident in the general

security of property rights to the Filipino, but both are now permanently assured.

"There is not on the horizon discernible any cloud which indicates the possibility of any kind of disturbance in the present status of these islands, either from within or without, by war or insurrection. The United States is strong, determined, fixed in her policy and not to be dissuaded or coerced. The development of the Philippines will proceed along the lines originally set forth, strictly adhered to by each successive administration and by the gradual process in line of declared policy—not by spasms or jerks. I am opposed to the admission of Chinese labor; Filipinos can do all the necessary work here if properly paid and properly treated. The Government should offer every reasonable inducement to capital and should make more liberal the land and mining laws and lessen the restrictions which are at present discouraging investors."

In a word, he speaks as if this country proposed to hold the islands indefinitely, and his desire is to introduce capital from sources foreign to the Philippines, and so create material prosperity. His ideal is that of many in his generation, but it is absolutely opposed to the principles for which we stand. He would induce Americans and others to invest in the islands, and to assure them that their investments will be protected by the continuance of American control. No human being can give them that assurance. The millions of dollars invested in slaves and slave property, the millions which slave-holders owed to northern merchants, the business and social ties which bound North as well as South to the maintenance of slavery, the political hopes and interests which were founded upon it were but as dust in the balance against the irresistible demands of human freedom. We who are today resisting the policy which Mr. Forbes advocates are apparently an insignificant minority. He represents the administration backed by the whole power of the United States. We are nothing in this contest; but were we all to die today our cause would not be lost. Upon our side are the moral and economical forces which destroyed slavery, the forces which will overthrow English domination in India, the forces which enabled France to conquer Europe, the love of justice, the love of freedom, the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration, the conscience of the American people, and no barrier that capital can erect will withstand these.

Yet we are opposed to his policy because every American

dollar which is planted in the Philippines is a rivet in the chain which binds them to us; it creates an interest hostile to their independence, it makes the justice which we shall ultimately render them, the separation which will surely take place, more difficult and more costly. It is capital which brought on the Boer War, it is capital which led to the conquest of India, it is capital which pushed Russia into the war with Japan, it is capital which promotes the aggression of stronger upon weaker peoples, and to the policy of improving the Philippine Islands by capital from without we are absolutely opposed.

Mr. Forbes enters his office with high hopes, and we would gladly see his aspirations realized. We would gladly be proved wrong in our fears, but we have read history to very little purpose if he is not doomed to inevitable disappointment. It was a wiser man than any of us, John Stuart Mill, who said that "such a thing as a government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profits of its own inhabitants, but if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it." And, said Froude, "if there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces." Rome, Spain, even England in India have failed. How can we upon the widening gulf of "race hatred" in the Philippines hope to rear an enduring edifice? How can we, who cannot protect our own fellow-citizens from lynching and mob violence even in the northern states, who cannot secure to them in half our country the rights which are given to them by the Constitution because of race prejudice, how can we hope to deal with race prejudice in distant islands?

Our people in the Philippines will never be Filipino patriots. Their love will always be for what they call "God's country," and for their own race. The patriotism of the Filipinos is fettered and suppressed by foreign rule, and what country can hope to prosper where there is no room for patriotism. Mr. Hobson, the well known English student, describes the policy which Mr. Forbes advocates, and though Mr. Forbes will not now admit that the description is true, in my judgment there is no escaping it.

Says Hobson: "Everywhere in the white administration

of these lower races considerations of present order are paramount, and industrial exploitation of the land and labor under private management for private immediate gain is the chief operative force in the community, unchecked or inadequately checked, by imperial or other governmental control." We may ask in passing, is not the same force dominant at home? If not, what was the excuse for the so-called Roosevelt policies?

Mr. Hobson continues: "Nowhere under such conditions is the theory of white government as a trust for civilization made valid. Nowhere is there any provision to secure the predominance of the interests either of the world at large, or of the governed people, over those of the encroaching nation, or more commonly a section of that nation. The relations subsisting between the superior and the inferior nations, commonly established by pure force and resting on that basis, are such as preclude the genuine sympathy essential to the operation of the best civilizing influences, and usually resolve themselves into the maintenance of external good order, so as to forward the profitable development of certain national resources of the land under 'forced' native labor, primarily for the benefit of white traders and investors, and secondarily for the benefit of the world of white western customers."

That the policy has not succeeded in our colonies is shown by the increasing hatred of us felt by Porto Ricans and Filipinos alike.

Mr. Forbes has a great opportunity. If he uses it to cover the islands with railroads, high roads, hospitals, and like material improvements, he will leave behind him a nation only more embittered against American rule, and in the largest sense his time will have been worse than wasted. Let us hope that he will realize how little material benefits like these weigh in the scale against human liberty,

"For what avail the plough or sail
Or land or life, if freedom fail."

There is that in his blood which must sooner or later tell him that these words are true.

Let him teach the Filipinos to help themselves with their own resources, and not with the money of others. Set before them, as was set before our fathers, "the glorious prospect of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life," as it did then. Let them be protected against

other invaders by such treaties as preserve the independence of Holland and Norway from their stronger neighbors. Let him trust the Filipinos, and by trusting educate them to bear responsibility, and let his be the hands from which they receive that national independence for which they so earnestly long, and for which they have suffered so much. Let him do for them what Governor Magcon has done for the Cubans, who are no better fitted for self-government than the Filipinos, and he will win the enduring gratitude not only of the people whose liberty he secures, but also of his own people, who have long wearied of the Philippine enterprise, and whose consciences would be much easier if this burden were removed. In the hall of fame the emancipator must always stand higher than the conqueror or the administrator, and the chance to win this supreme title is his. As his friends, we urge him to seize this great opportunity, and we but express the wish of this whole nation, who are praying to be delivered from "the body of this death." If Filipinos are fit to be members of the Commission, to govern provinces, to fill the highest judicial offices, they cannot be incapable of self-government.

The signs of progress are everywhere. Thus the New York Sun, which has never favored our cause, said a few days ago:

"The situation seems to be this: The Filipinos are ruled against their will 'for their own good.' The Americans rule them against the will of Americans for the good of the Filipinos, and to keep rival nations from breaking in. To this extent American occupation is 'for the good of the Americans.' Both the subjects and subjectors—who are also objectors—to the arrangement should contemplate the relation in a philosophic spirit. Each is a discipline to the other for the other's good."

And statements indicating disgust with the country's position could be quoted from newspapers of every political faith in all parts of the country.

An ardent supporter of Mr. Taft's policy, Professor Hart, writing from the islands, said last summer:

"If the hope of making big money in the Western Pacific was the thing that turned the scale in favor of ratifying the treaty in 1899, the United States was indeed buncoed, for the islands, though reasonably rich by nature, are no foundation of wealth either for the natives or the newcomers," . . . "the really fertile area of level land in the islands is probably not larger than

the State of Alabama and not so valuable," . . . "whatever wealth there is in the Philippines can be had only by working for it, or by working still harder in the effort to get the yellow man to work for the white man," . . . "it is hopeless to look for immigration into the Philippines by any considerable number of American farmers or mechanics," and "we must expect that for many years to come few Americans will go out to settle in the Philippines except government officials, including the army and navy, missionaries, and people of the missionary spirit, foremen and superintendents and business men who have something to invest," . . . "the race feeling seems due to the inexorable fact that the few foreigners are in power, and the many and the native must obey," . . . "it has been hoped that the Philippine Assembly, by exercising part of the governmental authority through elected representatives, would heal the breach; that a sizable majority would be found in that body which would accept the American government as a fixture, but hardly a member stands for the things that are," . . . "there is a fundamental difficulty here upon which time has little effect; the possession of some power seems to the Filipino—as it did to our ancestors in 1776—a reason for claiming more." Mr. Hart, moreover, tells us that "the Negro problem here is on the whole an easier one than the Philippine," and adds: "Here is the final fallacy of the whole situation. Americans are trying with the best will in the world to prove to the Filipinos that the political morals which fit America do not fit those parts of the outlying world which have become incorporated with America. There is no logic, and no benefit to those governed which makes self-government the only conceivable thing on the continent of America, and a dangerous thing in the islands of the Pacific." This comes very near the doctrine that we are preaching, and certainly betrays no enthusiasm for the Philippine adventure.

Let me cite another very recent witness, Dr. George A. Dorsey, who writes from the islands thus:

"What a farce we are over here, anyway. Our government of the islands is worthy of, we will say, Nevada. We do not know what we are trying to do, and we do not know how to do it; especially is our government here not a government of experts. There are some good men, but they are in a minority, and they owe their appointment not to eternal fitness but to fortuitous circumstances. Our improvements are not com-

mensurate with the neglect, decay, and indifference which are to be seen on every hand, and the Filipinos despise us and have no respect for us.

"The wild tribes are interesting, and the mountains and valleys of the interior are glorious, but Manila and the whole fringe of so-called Christian coast is enough to make one sick. The old flag gains no added luster in flying aloft over the Philippine Islands. We have introduced slovenliness and decay, and we neither foster native industries nor encourage foreign capital. And each day increases the bitterness between the white and the brown; and the newspapers in Manila, instead of devoting themselves to the legitimate sphere of a newspaper, carry on a perpetual cat and dog fight, adding to the bitterness of the racial hatred. . . .

"Why cannot we let the natives alone? They are the best agriculturists in the world; they build far better houses than the Christians, and live a much saner, cleaner, more wholesome life. What in the name of Abraham Lincoln do they want with a few stale crumbs of our educational system?

"But what is the use? On this boat is one, just only one, other white passenger. He has been in the civil service in Manila for four years; he is leaving a \$2,200 job to take one in Canton for \$1,500. He says 'Manila is no place for a white man.' "

When Senator Lodge can oppose an amendment to the tariff bill which declared that the bill was not to be construed "as furthering an intention to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor to permanently annex said islands as an integral part" of our territory, on the ground that such a declaration had already been made in 1899, and he did not think it "necessary for the United States to keep repeating that it is going to keep faith, and thus exhibit suspicions of its own integrity," we have from him in effect a promise of independence, since he cannot now say that no promise was made, nor can he mean to uphold a breach of the nation's faith.

When the joint army and navy board decide to have no permanent naval station in the Philippines, one strong reason urged for acquiring and holding the islands disappears. No longer a coign of vantage, the highest authorities recognize that they are a weak point in our line.

When Dr. Lyman Abbott, at Lake Mohonk, presents a plat-

form and Vice President Sherman moves its adoption which lays down the proposition that "The ultimate end of all just government is self-government," and concludes with these words:

"Whatever relationship may be established between America and her insular possessions in the future, just government must mean for all peoples under her protection and subject to her sovereignty, government for the benefit of the governed now, that is justice, and eventual self-government which is the consummation of liberty." We see light in a dark place. Let Congress adopt these words, proposed by one of those who have been foremost in defending the conquest of the Philippines, and adopted by the Vice President of the United States; let them be incorporated in a joint resolution as a declaration of our purpose, and the Philippine problem is almost solved. Tell the islanders that some day they shall govern themselves, and it only remains to fix the day, a day which we may all cordially unite to hasten. With both peoples laboring in co-operation for the same end it could not be delayed. This resolution alone would help the Filipinos more than all the railways, roads, or like public improvements that we could make in a century. Thus close has time brought the Anti-Imperial League and Dr. Abbott.

The imperial bubble has broken. The country has awakened from the bright dreams of wealth, power and philanthropy which attended the annexation of the Philippines. It looks back upon a dark chapter of war against a people struggling for freedom, with its concomitants of blood and torture. It finds that Porto Rico, after ten years, is unprosperous and hostile, while the Filipinos have not abated one jot of their desire for independence, and race hatred between them and the Americans is growing. It contemplates without satisfaction what imperialism has cost and what it has brought in return. Worthless except as a moral discipline, which neither Americans nor Filipinos desire; offering no homes to our people and little prospect to investors; of no value as a naval station, why should we continue to incur the enormous expense of holding these islands against their will and fostering the bitter and growing hatred which our continued possession engenders among their people. "The man who has a thousand friends has not a friend to spare. But he who has one enemy will meet him everywhere." The lion may need the friendship of even the mouse.

Why not at least try to secure their freedom from foreign invasion by a neutralization treaty, and then help them to govern themselves as we have helped Japan and Cuba, rather than persist in trampling upon the principles of self-government by continuing a connection which is odious to both peoples. As helpers and advisers they may learn to like and trust as, as rulers never.

The forces upon which we rely are working inexorably towards the result. There is no room for despair or doubt. Let the Filipinos steadily persist in demanding the independence which is their right; let them, by preserving order and using wisely such power as is granted to them, prove their fitness for more, and the promise which Mr. Lodge says the nation has already made will be repeated in terms that cannot be misinterpreted. But whether promised or not, their independence will come. For ourselves we can only press on till the "self-evident" truths are again recognized by every American, and our flag wherever it floats is again, in spirit and in truth, "the flag of the free."

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